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669 726 Tonga chief under the same circumstances: they immediately engaged with their clubs; one however being soon disarmed, and the other having broken his club, they fought a long time with their fists; and when they were so weak that they could not strike, they grappled with each other, and both fell to the ground exhausted with fatigue: the Tonga chief, incapable of injuring his antagonist in any other way, got his fingers into his mouth, and gnawed them dreadfully: after having thus laid for a long time looking at each other, they gathered a little fresh strength, and by mutual agreement each crawled home to his respective fort.

The Hapai men, on their way back to Niocalofa, found several of their friends in different parts of the road, who were unable to proceed on account of their wounds. But they were too weak themselves to carry them, and were obliged to leave them to the mercy of the enemy. They at length arrived at the *colo*, tired and fatigued beyond conception, with about fifteen prisoners.

727 669 266 [177] [724] The following day, some of the younger chiefs, who had contracted the Fiji habits, proposed to kill the prisoners, lest they should make their escape, and then to roast and eat them. This proposal was readily agreed to, by

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some, because they liked this sort of diet, and by others because they wanted to try it, thinking it a manly and warlike habit: there was also another motive, viz. a great scarcity of provisions; for some canoes which had been sent to the Hapai islands in quest of provisions were unaccountably detained, and the garrison was already threatened with distress. Some of the prisoners were soon dispatched: their flesh was cut up into small portions, washed with sea-water, wrapped up in plantain leaves, and roasted under hot stones: two or three were embowelled and baked whole the same as a pig *. Mr. Mariner was not tempted to partake of this kind of diet, though the smell of it, when cooked, was exceedingly delicious. A few days now elapsed without any signs of the canoes from Hapai, and the distress of those who did not choose to eat human flesh was very great. Mr. Mariner had been two days and a half without eating any thing; when, passing by a house where they were cooking something, he walked in, with the pleasing hope of getting something that his stomach would bear, if it were only a piece of a rat; on enquiry, he was told, they had got some pork, and a man offered him a piece of liver, which he eagerly accepted, and

* For their different methods of cooking, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

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young chiefs belonging to the same place, upon the following conditions: if the girls won the game, they were to divide a yam, which they had in their possession, and give half to the young chiefs; but if, on the contrary, these won the game, they were still to have half the yam, but were to go out and kill a man, and give half his body to the girls: the result was, that the latter won the game, and giving half their yam to the two chiefs, waited for the performance of their agreement. The two young men set out, under cover of the darkness of the night, and concealed themselves near an enemy's fortress. Early in the morning, a man came out of the fencing to fetch some salt water from the shore in cocoa-nut shells, which he carried with him for the purpose. When he approached the place where the two lay concealed, they started out upon him, killed him with their clubs, and, at the risk of their lives, brought his body to Nookoo Nookoo, where they divided it in half, and faithfully performed their promise with the young women.

It was more than a fortnight before the canoes returned from the Hapai islands with a supply of provisions, owing to the bad state of the weather. Shortly after, the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo sent to request leave to bury the dead bodies of their relations who had fallen

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Some time now elapsed in expectation of the enemy's approach; but there were no signs of them. Finow, in the mean while, came to a determination of making Vavaoo his place of constant residence. This he did for two reasons, first, because it was the largest and most fruitful of all his islands; and secondly, because by his presence he could better govern a people who appeared to be so little attached to his interests. It was now the scarce time of the year, and his stock of provisions began to grow short: it was necessary therefore to dispatch canoes to the Hapai islands for a fresh supply, that might last them till the season had so far advanced as to provide them with the vegetable produce of the surrounding country. A large canoe was therefore got ready, with orders to return with yams and *ma*; she had an additional number of hands on board, with which to man another canoe that they were to bring back with them, laden in like manner. Several women and children also took this opportunity of going to Hapai to see their friends. One morning the canoe set sail for one of the Vavaoo islands, called Taoonga, with the intention of remaining there during the night, and of departing again very early the following morning, to prosecute the voyage. Whilst here, however, the wind unfortunately changed, and they were under the necessity of remaining at Ta-

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oonga several days. For the first two or three days they kept a good look-out, lest they should be surprised by the enemy, and at night slept on board the canoe; but not finding themselves disturbed by any one, they at length relaxed their vigilance, and slept on shore by large fires; in consequence of which they met with a sad disaster. On the fifth night they had lighted their fires as usual, and the greater part had fallen asleep, when forty or fifty of the enemy's choicest warriors, commanded by Máccapápa, rushed suddenly upon them. The enemy had heard from some stragglers, that this expedition to Hapai had been obliged to remain at Taoonga; they accordingly put to sea in their small canoes, and arrived at the opposite side of the island after dark: great part of them landed, and being guided by the fires, fell upon those who were reposing in imaginary security, and with their clubs made an end of about eight and twenty: the remainder escaped to the canoe, but not without much difficulty; for some of their companions who had remained to take care of it, being alarmed by the uproar of this sudden attack on shore, had pushed off into deep water; so that those who made their escape from the beach were obliged to swim, and several of them were much wounded by spears thrown at them. Under cover of the

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669 darkness they got off to a neighbouring island;
726 and early in the morning, the wind becoming
[724 more favourable, they proceeded on their voyage.

In the mean while a man ran away from the enemy's garrison, and brought information of the departure of Maccapapa to attack the Hapai expedition. Finow ordered several large canoes to put to sea immediately, in pursuit of them. This was speedily accomplished, and in the course of a few hours they came up with Maccapapa's canoes, and took ten of them. Many attempted to make their escape to the shore; but being prevented by the large canoes from proceeding to the regular landing-places, they were under the necessity of venturing their necks by climbing up steep rocks that rose almost perpendicularly from the water. In this attempt some fell and were killed. Thus were Finow's men revenged.

A fortnight now elapsed without any material circumstance occurring: almost every day, however, there was some little skirmish with the enemy; but which led to no particular result. At the end of this time, the canoes from
669 Hapai not being yet returned, Finow began
726 to turn his thoughts more seriously than ever
724 towards the large field of yams before spoken
725 of. He made preparations therefore for an at-

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tack upon it: hoping that if he did not succeed in procuring some yams, he should at least be able to bring the enemy to a general engagement. With this view he picked out some of the choicest of his men, about eighty in number, and gave them orders to conceal themselves, during the night, in a thicket close to the enemy's fortress, and on one side of the road. Finow in the mean while proceeded with a party of six hundred towards Felletoa. When he arrived within a quarter of a mile of the fort, it being yet dark, he took up his station in a field of high grass, situated in a valley, which could not be seen by the enemy. He then dispatched a hundred men to dig up the yams, and fifty more, under the command of Hala Api Api, (an adopted son of the late Toobó Nuha,) to the fortress, with a view of enticing the enemy out, and leading them beyond the ambuscade. The enemy, however, kept close within his entrenchments. The fact was, there were not many men in the place, at least not great warriors, the rest having gone to another part of the island to launch a large canoe, for the purpose of bringing it round to the garrison to break up and make small ones of. But as soon as the enemy discovered Hala Api Api, they sent down to their companions at the further side of the island, to inform them of what

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669 726 724 725 669 726 725 669 726

was going forward. They came as soon as they possibly could, but too late to save the yams. As soon as they arrived at the fort and saw the field of yams completely despoiled, they became dreadfully enraged, and rushed out in a body upon Hala Api Api, who immediately retreated, with a design of drawing them on beyond the two ambuscades. In this, for the most part, he succeeded to his wishes; for the enemy were so blinded by their rage, and pushed on by desire of revenge, that they did not reflect on the probability that there was some stratagem. They continued to follow, and he to retreat, till they passed the first ambush, where Finow lay concealed, and were fast advancing towards the second, when Finow's men, too eager for conquest, rose up and attacked them in the rear: the second ambush, hearing the noise of this attack, immediately started up, and joining Hala Api Api, a hard and close fight was kept up for about a quarter of an hour; when the enemy finding themselves too strongly opposed, retreated towards the fortress, in which they took shelter, being pursued close up to their doors by the Hapai warriors. Having recovered themselves a little from their consternation, they prepared to renew the combat, and again sallied forth, and commenced a general engagement with spears and arrows,

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669 723 The Hapai army being returned to Neafoo, Finow gave orders that no man should venture out for some time, lest, the vigilance and anger of the enemy being now so strongly excited, some should fall a prey to their rashness.

669 724 About a week afterwards, a warrior, named Havili, requested leave of Finow to permit him to go in a large canoe, with an armed party, to the north-west part of the island, to secure a number of hogs, which the enemy kept there in a fencing, observing, that it would be but proper to relish the Vavaoo yams with a little Vavaoo [701] pork! Havili was a man remarkable for laying hold of every opportunity of undertaking secret expeditions by night; and he was thought to have killed more men in his time than any other warrior.

669 724 726 The king having granted him leave, he went on board a canoe, with forty stout men, and proceeded towards the place. The enemy, however, had previously sent an additional force to take care of their hogs, thinking, very justly, that Finow might be encouraged to turn his attention to that quarter, from having met with such success in the field of yams. It happened, one night, that part of this guard, sauntering about upon the beach, perceived a large canoe coming towards them. They immediately sent word to their companions, and, se-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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parating into two parties, concealed themselves on either side of the road leading to the fencing. The canoe having reached the shore, half the men landed with Havili at their head, and proceeded towards the place where the hogs were kept. They had no sooner passed the spot where the enemy lay concealed, than the latter rushed out, and attacked them in the rear so suddenly, and with such effect, that fifteen were quickly dispatched, the enemy only losing one man, who was killed by Havili. This warrior and his four remaining men effected their escape to their companions in the canoe, and pushed from the shore as quickly as possible. As they were paddling off, the enemy called out to them in derision, "What! you wanted "some pork, did you?—how do you like your "treat?—but stay, here are some fine pigs for "you, ready killed" (alluding to the dead bodies), "why don't you come and take them "away?"—but Havili and his men, sorely discomfited, returned home without making any farther attempt.

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from those of profit (as they could employ them in making gnatoo, &c.) When they arrived at Neafoo, there happened a strong dispute between several relations of the prisoners, and those who had taken them; the former arguing that they had a claim to the women, according to the old Tonga custom, which decrees, that all persons shall be in the service of their older and superior relations, if those relations think proper to employ them: the captors, on the other hand, strenuously grounded their claims on the right of conquest. The dispute ran very high, and they referred it to Finow, who replied, that he should not interfere in it, and they might settle it themselves as well as they could, for they had no right to bring the prisoners there to create disturbances, but should have dispatched them according to his orders. At length he condescended to give his opinion, viz. that the most proper method would be, under these circumstances, to cut each woman in two, and give one half to her relation, and the other to the captor. The affair, however, was amicably settled, without having recourse to such bloody measures; some being given up to their relatives, and others retained, upon terms mutually agreeable to all parties.

About this time the two long expected canoes arrived from Hapai, laden with provisions: they

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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had been detained partly by contrary winds, and partly by the people going to visit their relatives at different islands.

It has already been mentioned, more than once, that places, which have been consecrated either by express declaration, or by the burial of great chiefs, are forbidden to be the scene of war, and that it would be highly sacrilegious to attack an enemy, or spill his blood within their confines. This circumstance, however, occurred a few days after the dispute about the female prisoners; the particulars of it are as follow: Palavali (brother of Havili), went out one day on a foraging party with six men in two small canoes, and landed near a consecrated inclosure, called Gnacao, one of the most fertile places in the whole island. Here they met with four of the enemy, who, perceiving their inferiority, made an endeavour to get into the consecrated place, where they would have been perfectly safe: Palavali, however, seeing their intention, got between them and the fencing, when one of the enemy made a bold push to pass his antagonist, and scramble over the reed-work, and had actually got one leg over, when Palavali struck him a furious blow on the head, and felled him dead within the place; seeing now what he had done, he was struck with fear, and ran away to the canoes, followed by his men,

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

knamair at the beginning of the war, he brought the virgin with him to Mooa, and presented her to me, and I conducted her to my Abbee. We returned the next morning to Mooa, to see her father, before his departure with Loogolala for Aheefo. The same day I sent her up an arm of the sea to Ardeo, with some of my people, in my canoe, while I marched thither, as before related, among the troops, on foot, that followed Mulkaamair. The war commenced beyond Ardeo, as already detailed, the next morning; when, our party being defeated, they returned in the canoe down the same arm of the sea to Mooa; and not aware that Loogolala, with his division, was successful in another quarter, they conceived that the whole army was defeated; and fled away, in company with other canoes, to Arbai. Here my young bride remained, till victory declaring in our favour, and Tongataboo being subdued, I came with her father, to whom I attached myself after the death of his brother Mulkaamair, my old friend, to Arbai, and took up my abode with her at his fallee.

During this interval, the Aheefans, stung with shame and rage, took courage to rebel; and sent this message to Loogolala, "that as they had always been their own masters, they would rather die than be subject to him as slaves."

At this time, I had gone to Tongataboo, with two or three more, as provisions were scarce at Arbai, to obtain a supply, to bring back with us in

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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the canoe. Anxious for the rest of the brethren, who escaped the slaughter which their companions at Ardeo met with, and who had fled and concealed themselves, as it was supposed in rocks on the sea-shore, I made particular inquiries respecting them.

I learned, that at the time the war broke out, Shelly, Kelso, Wilkinson, and Buchanan lived together, or near each other, at Aheefo, under the protection of Dugonagaboola. I heard also that Cooper, who took up his residence with Moola, an inferior chief, at Ahogge, had fled to them for protection. For one day being left alone in his apartment, the natives broke in, and plundered him of every thing, and threatened to kill him. He begged hard that they would spare his life, but told them they were welcome to take all his property.

When Dugonagaboola, under whose protection they all lived, was killed in the treacherous manner which has been related, (in the thirteenth chapter) they were all taken under the care of Komavai, who was a deputy chief under Dugonagaboola. He was always a kind friend to us, and we were all much attached to him. But as soon as two parties were formed, and their friends, the Aheefans, marched to fight Loogolala and his party, then they fled to the back part of the island. This they could easily do, without molestation, as the island[1] in some places, was not above six, in others only four, and even two

1 [i.e. Tongataboo--Analyst]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

an early period, for safety, to one or other of the Haabai islands.

For some months after this visit the signs of a coming rupture increased; and, by an express order from King George, the inhabitants removed from the island towards the close of 1851. At that period the waters of the lake were almost at boiling heat, and a large section of the cultivatable land was scorched up.

But as no actual or serious eruption had taken place up to the close of 1855, at which time our residence in the islands terminated, it may fairly be supposed that the dreadful eruption of Late, during the course of the previous year, had given vent to the internal forces, so as to relieve the pressure from that particular locality.

Two more volcanic eruptions, of a different character from those already described, remain to be mentioned. They may be called oceanic volcanoes. In the year 1852 a large canoe was proceeding from Vavau to Tonga, carrying troops and arms, to join the forces of King George, in a war then raging, on the latter island. Those on board observed, a great fire to the westward of their course, when they were about half-way between the islands of Late and Tofua. Supposing it to be a ship on fire, they altered their course, and steered towards it. It soon became certain, however, that it was not a burning ship. The water was strangely agitated; and the fire evidently ascended from the sea itself. Greatly alarmed, and full of amazement, the crew again kept on the proper course. Immediately upon their arrival in Tonga, they reported what had been seen; but nothing further was observed until 1855. In that year the same singular